115.1 3/0

ירושלים, י"א בטבת תשכ"ה
14 יבנואר 1965

ס ד ר י

אל: הנציגויות באפריקה

העתק: מ/מנהל מא"ס

שמרי
מאיר
נישמה ב.ל.
חיים

הנדון: דרום סודאן

ספרותיכם ומסעירות מא"ס אתם למדים שיש תמורות תדירות בדרום סודאן, גם ביחסה של ממשלת חרטום לבעיה וגם בקרב מנהיגות הדרום סודאנים.

הכלל שנקבע ע"י הנהלת הסברד בדבר והבעות מתמיכה מצדנו בדרום סודאנים עומד בעינו. יחד עם זאת, יש צורך לעקוב מקרוב אחר ההתרחשויות לקראת אפשרות של שנוי בנסיבותנו. לצורך זה אין מציעה לקיים מגע איבפורמטיבי בלבד עם מנהיגי דרום סודאן בארצות כהונתכם, אולם רצוי שהידיעה לא תגיע מאתנו ושהמגע לא יהיה בפרסום.

בשיחותיכם עם מנהיגים אפריקאיים, ביחוד בארצות הגובלות עם סודאן, השתדלו-נא לעמוד על יחסם לבעיה ועל כל שנוי בגישתם לאפשרות של מתן תמיכה חמרית לתנועת דרום סודאן.

רצ"ב צילום ידיעה שהופיעה בעתון הדרום אפריקאי העשויה להיות לכם לעזר בשיחותיכם בנדון.

ב ב ר כ ת

לו קדר

EAST AFRICAN STANDARD 6.1.65

SUDAN PROBLEM CAN KILL O.A.U. SAYS SOUTHERN LEADER

THE problem of the Sudan was one of the major problems that could kill the Organisation for African Unity because it was an Afro-Arab conflict, the External and African Affairs Secretary of the Sudan African National Union (Sanu), Mr. Alphonse Malek Pajok, said in Nairobi yesterday.

"The problem of the Sudan is, if not worse, equal to that of South Africa," Mr. Pajok said. "This is a racial issue and anybody thinking that it is a political issue does not have the true facts."

In South Africa there was the problem of apartheid which separated Whites from Africans. But at the same time Africans, after being driven to poor locations, were allowed to develop in their own ways and according to their own culture.

"In the Sudan Africans are allowed to talk with the Arabs so that they do inferior and manual jobs," Mr. Pajok said. "Africans in Sudan are not allowed to develop their own African dignity and culture."

He called on Sir El Khatim El Khalifa's caretaker Government to split the country into two States, the Southern and the Northern, which would have separate flags for any idea of uniting the Sudan was impossible.

The Sudan was not a single nation because of the racial, cultural, linguistic and religious differences between the North and the South.

Mr. Pajok said he was surprised that some people supported the repressive minority Arab Government in a country which had Africans as the majority people, while the Government was a member of the Arab League.

Sanu had offered the Arabs a chance for negotiations in a neutral country outside Sudan in the hope that the relationship between Africans and Arabs was not completely exhausted.

But this offer in the interest of national unity and peace had been abused by the Arab Government.

Sanu had now been forced, as a last - ditch move, to take two steps. These were the strengthening of Anyanya (Sanu's army) and asking the two Southern Sudanese Ministers in the caretaker Government to resign.

"Sanu must use all means to send out Arabs from the Southern Sudan," Mr. Pajok said. "Negotiations have failed. The next step is force."

The problem of Sudan involved all other neighbouring African States and must be solved by Africans themselves.

Mr. Moi's speech in Khartoum

A further account of the speech made by Kenya's Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Moi, at the independence celebrations in Khartoum (as reported yesterday) shows that he expressed happiness because the Sudanese people now had a transitional Government "after having overthrown a military Government which had caused stagnation for six years".

He called on the Northern and Southern Sudanese to settle their differences supporting the Government to build their country together.

1951210

ירושלים, כ"ט אדר תשכ"ה
2 מרס 1965

מ ו ד י

אל: מר מ. עודד, המבורגים, קטמנדו

מאת: מא"ף

הנדון: דרום סודן

תודה מרתבו על דיווחיך בנדון הפוסיפים לגו דבות להבהרת המסובה
הלא-כל-כך-ברורה של נושא זה.

הרושם המתקבל עתה הוא כי תנועת SANU מרגלת לפלגים ודסיסים
שונים. במכתבך המאוחר דווחת כי כמה מסנהיגיה כגון OKUNO
WILLIAM DENG המשמרי מסגה עקב ביטול תפיסתית של ELIAS LUPE
כלפי הסודנים (אגב, האם יצרו ארגון או מסגרת חדשה ?). בנוסף לזאת
נודע לנו לאחרונה על ארגון חדש חדשה SOUTHERN SUDAN FREEDOM
FIGHTERS UNION OF CONSERVATIVES
שבראשותה עומד NORWEL , מי שהיה מנהיג המחתרת הדרום-סודנים באזור
בחר של ב'אגל ונרצח מטס לקט"א. בצבר מובה כמזכיר לענייני אוצר ב"מסמלת"
SANU אך עמה מרם. תנועתו היא כנראה הקיצונית ביותר ודרושה בחוק
מרחלים של דרום סודן ובצאותה מדינות לאלתר. אחד מסנהיגי תנועה חדשה זו
PAJAK, אך הוא מאבטי SANU לשעבר, בקר בשגרירותנו בביירוט, ופסר
על האפשרות ובקש שנפסן מיפסר של המנהיג NORWEL מק"מא
לסודן אפריקה. ~~[illegible]~~.

עדיין מסוטת עבורנו שאלת המקום והכוונה המדיניים של תנועת המחתרת
עצמה הקרויה ANYA NYA והמרגלת בתוך דרום סודן עצמה. בזמן האחרון
ראינו ידיעות כי לשמה המקום עליה נמצא בידי מסלבת SOUTHERN FRONT
מהיא תנועה רשמית בתוך סודן ואחר קבלה עמה ל כפאות בשמה החדשה של
סודן. אולם לאחרונה קבלנו דווח מלונדון המצביע על כך כי גם ה ANYA NYA
מתנגדת לשיתוף דבות מרץ חלק מהן מקיימות קשר עם SOUTHERN FRONT

נמשך לעמוד מסך דווחים נוספים ובקרוב שיוכלו לסיע לנו להבהיר
הנקודות המתוארות.

ב ב ר כ ה

העתק: השגרירות, אדיס

יואב בירן

[illegible]

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
K A M P A L A
P. O. BOX 3050
ב"ג בסיון תשכ"ה
23.6.65
103.5

שגרירות ישראל
770

אל מר י.בירן, אדיס אבבה

מאת השגרירות,קמפלה

דרום סודאן

אחד מהשגחיגים הדרום סודאנים [illegible]
סמראאר סמסרוגיבגיה [illegible] הודיעני כי הוא
מסכונן לבאת לאתיופיה ולפגול מסם.

קוראאי היה האמראי הצביבי איבפורמציה ב- [illegible]
ומסוגמכי ג'וזף אוזוהר. לאחר הטיפול בסאבו מעל למען
קו יוסר קיצוני ולוחם והתבגד לכל מטרות, הוא מסתבגדיל
מחריפים של ויליאם זבב, המסמך בופיות ח'רטום.

קוראאי בחור אינטליגבטי מאד ומסיסרי מאבו וכואי
לעמוד אור בקשר באם יש לכם עניין בקבלת אינפורמציה על
המתרחשים בדרום סודאן.

בברכה

א.עורך

העתק: מאף

ירושלים, יד' בכסלו תשכ"ו
6 בדצמבר 1965

961

ס מ ו ר

אל : הנציגויות באמריקה

מאת : מנהל מא"ף

הנדון: דרום סודאן

1. רצ"ב צלום קטע מה- תמציתמשט הבריטי מיום 21 בנובמבר 1965, המספר על סיועם של אנשי חיל האויר הבריטי לצבא סודאן בפלישתו נגד הדרומיים.

בסקומות מניתן הדגד, תובלו להשתמש בידיעה כדי להראות כיצד מתתייע האימפריאליזם הערבי בכוחות זרים כדי לדכא מאבק אפריקאי צודק.

2. רצ"ב צלום קטע מסבומון הירבא לאור בדהוסיי שהוא בפאון הסמלה למעשה. התאחר מזדהה עם מאבקם של הדרום-סודאנים לשחרור ומתקיף את ערביי סודאן וכן את מצרים שמלחה לדגריד פלוגת קומנדו ליוכוי הדרומיים. מדובר כאן במפורש על קולוניאליזם וגזענות ערביים.

לשמוש בשיחותיכם. אנו מעוניינים בדיווח על יחסן של מדינות אפריקה לנעים דרום סודאן ובבקשכם להעביר לנו הדים מהקלטו משיחות בנושא.

ב ב ר כ ה

משה לשם

העתק: נאו"ם, ניו-יורק
השגרירות, וושינגטון
השגרירות, לונדון
השגרירות, פאריס
המוסד

OBSERVER

NOV. 21, 1965

RAF pilots help Sudan fight rebels

from our own Reporter

KHARTOUM, November 20.

OFFICERS of the Royal Air Force on secondment to the Sudanese armed forces as a training mission are helping the Sudanese Government to suppress the armed revolt in the country's three southern provinces.

They are making sorties from Juba, the Equatoria province headquarters, under orders from the local Army commander.

Over the past three months these flying missions have, I understand, proved vital for Sudanese troops cut off in isolated camps in thick forest in the Azande district and in other parts of the province where the rains have made road communications impossible.

The southern rebel organisation, Anya-Nya, launched its first harassing raids in September, 1963, but after a virtual cease-fire between November, 1964, and April this year, Anya-Nya has stepped up its attacks.

Its units, which do not appear to have any central command, fight with modern automatic rifles bought from Congolese rebels or stolen from arms convoys sent to the Congo through Sudan.

The precise role of the five R.A.F. pilots at Juba, who form part of the training mission is difficult to determine.

Airstrip out of action

Reports that they merely act as pilots when raids are carried out cannot be confirmed. I understand, though, from sources in Juba that R.A.F. personnel are employed mainly in flying food, stores—and, at times, arms and ammunition—in Fokker Friendship aircraft to the garrisons in the province.

Only one Sudanese Army pilot has so far been trained to fly this type of aircraft, which is said to be far more effective in a supply role than the Dakotas and Dorniers with which the air wing is equipped.

Many of the towns and garrisons in Equatoria have their own airstrips in safe areas, but at Yambio, the centre for the Azande district, the airstrip is 16 miles from the town. It was recently in the hands of Anya-Nya and was made unserviceable.

The garrison at Yambio, which is in thick forest country, has therefore had to be supplied by tricky air drops carried out by R.A.F. pilots.

The presence of British pilots in the south is part of a training agreement between Britain and the Sudanese armed forces, which have long-standing ties with Britain.

Both Sudanese official and British sources consider this to be normal technical aid in the military field, and the withdrawal of the pilots at this stage would both be in breach of the training agreement and, it is argued, tantamount to taking sides in the tricky southern Sudan dispute.

Reports from Juba last week suggested that as three Friendship aircraft were grounded through damage or lack of spares, no flying missions had been carried out by the R.A.F. for several days.

L'AUBE NOUVELLE 20.11.65

LE DRAME SOUDANAIS

L'appel tragique des Soudanais du Sud menacés d'anéantissement

A l'heure où l'on veut construire l'Afrique, à l'heure où on parle d'unité africaine, n'y a-t-il pas scandale lorsque sous le fallacieux prétexte de « non immixtion dans les affaires intérieures d'un Etat frère » on garde le silence sur un problème aussi grave que celui du Sud-Soudan ? L'Aube Nouvelle ne veut pas être complice d'un pareil scandale. C'est pourquoi nous publions cet appel qui nous est parvenu, et nous invitons chacun à prendre position.

Quatre millions d'Africains condamnés à mort !!!

« Le Soudan est un pays et il doit avoir une seule langue et une seule culture. Nous sommes prêts à anéantir les trois quarts de la population pour atteindre ce but ».

Ces paroles prononcées en 1962 par Charaf el-Dine, l'un des dirigeants arabes de la Province Equatoriale, ont été mis à exécution par l'armée soudanaise.

Durant le dernier mois seulement, on estime à près de six mille les Africains tués dans les provinces du Sud.

Dans une seule de ces actions, environ un millier de citoyens comprenant des vieillards, des femmes et des enfants ont été massacrés dans les trois villes de Juba, Wau et Malakkal où les unités de l'armée soudanaise se sont adonnées à une orgie de meurtres et de destruction.

Les Egyptiens complices

Les Soudanais n'étaient pas seuls dans cette furie de meurtres. A leurs côtés, il y avait des unités de l'armée égyptienne, envoyées pour aider leurs frères à Khartoum. Des personnels ont révélé qu'un bataillon de Commandos égyptiens avait été secrètement envoyé au Sud et prenait part aux combats en uniforme de l'armée soudanaise. En même temps, des Migs, pilotés par des Egyptiens, bombardaient nos villages, brûlant et détruisant un nombre incalculable de maisons, et mitraillaient nos civils.

Un choix atroce

Les Arabes nous ont donné le choix : ou bien renoncer à notre culture, notre langue et notre héritage africain et nous soumettre à la domination arabe, ou bien être effacés de la carte !

Au Soudan, aujourd'hui, l'Arabe méprise l'Africain. Les Arabes cherchent à détruire notre identité africaine, notre dignité nationale et notre fierté d'Africain. C'est le pire des colonialismes, basé sur la politique raciste de la supériorité arabe.

Nous ne nous soumettrons jamais à ce suicide politique, culturel et physique. Nous nous battrons jusqu'à la dernière goutte de sang du dernier de nos soldats plutôt que d'accepter qu'un pouvoir étranger — les Arabes — nous soit imposé.

Six millions de morts

Nous faisons appel à tous les Africains et à tous les anti-colonialistes dans le Monde. Nous voulons la paix. Nous ne ferons pas la guerre. Nous réclamons une solution pacifique qui nous accorde l'indépendance qui nous revient. Nous demandons à être libérés du joug arabe, ce joug qui a organisé le Marché des Esclaves dans notre pays. Pouvons — nous oublier que durant la Période Mahdia, notre population fut réduite de 8 millions qu'elle était à moins de 2 millions !

Aujourd'hui, des atrocités sont commises qui égalent celles commises à l'époque des marchands d'esclaves. Jamais, depuis cette époque terrible, tant d'Africains n'ont été massacrés comme maintenant.

Que la conscience de l'Afrique se réveille ! Ne restez pas neutres devant ce combat d'Africains luttant pour la liberté contre le colonialisme Arabe. Aidez-nous à gagner notre indépendance afin que nous puissions continuer à vivre dans notre propre pays comme des citoyens libres, fiers de notre héritage africain.

Vive l'Afrique !!!

Vive l'indépendance d'Azania !!!

ירושלים, יב' בכסלו תשב"ו
6 בדצמבר 1965

361

מ ב ר ק

אל : הנציגויות באפריקה.

מאת : מנהל מא"ף

הנדון: דרום סודאן

... 1. רצ"ב צלום קטע מה- Observer הבריטי מיום 21 בנובמבר 1965, המספר על מיומם של אנשי חיל האויר הבריטי לצבא סודאן כמלחמתו נגד הדרומיים.

נסקומות מניחן הדבר, תוכלו להשתמש בידיעה כדי להראות כיצד מסתייע האימפריאליזם הערבי בכוחות זרים כדי לרכא מאבק אפריקאני צודק.

... 2. רצ"ב צלום קטע מסבוערן הירצא לאור בדהומיי שהוא במארן הממשלה למעמה. המאמר מזדהה עם מאבקם של הדרום-סודאנים לשחרור ומחקיף את ערביי סודאן וכן את מצרים ומלחה לרבריו מלוגת קומנדו לדכוי הדרומיים. מדובר כאן בספורט על קולוניאליזם וגזענות ערביים.

למרות בטיחותיכם, אנו מעוניינים בדיווח על יחסן של מדינות אפריקה לכניית דרום סודאן ובבקשתכם להעביר לנו הדים מתקלסו מסיחות בנושא.

בברכה,

מזה לשם

העתק: באו"ם, ניו-יורק.
השגרירות, וושינגטון
השגרירות, לונדון
השגרירות, פאריס
השומר

29.9.65

[illegible]

בדיקה עם SHAPIRA JAK ; UPPER HIL - 1

חשבון העיקרי הוא ה- HUS המחוז 2/3 מכלל המובלים. תרבית כתיבי

המחברת חדרים סודנית חגם משקשת, כולל זילי פרץ, היסבנם לם ורגיאל מסיוס.

בעבר היה זי עבם לחמים עצקו בחשיבות על עכבים אחרים, עדיד בקר ודמיו

ילדי אנחנו תבכו כבני השבם . חלק משבם זה חי בבמבלה, [illegible] ולכן קל

לאנשי המחברת חרוס סודנית משבם זה להוסיף באחיריות באחיריה.

כמו כן מתבדדיב כ- SPIRA NI בני עבם ה- DIMKA

אך ם ביתם ידעבים בבאר אל גכל , מם קרובים ערבה HU ל- HU

:- SHUAR AHUAR SHUAR מצויים גם שני שבטים קטנים בשם

באקומדריה ירמנ: בני עבם ה- AMUALI

JAD

אשר חלקם יושב גם בשיגנית

נשים SAL מרצאו משבם זה. כן מתבדדיב בפרוביגציה זו קבוצה שבטי

ה- SAL.

לפרות רשומי השבט אין מבדלים אחגיים בולטים בין השבטים ואין בלודים

הריבאש בתוך תבועת SALM ומחברם ה- ANTA EDDA

אין להבדלים שביניהם כל השפעה, ואין שמרבים שביניהם בתוך התבועה על רקע זה.

הדבר אחרים שהבבועה נמקלם בה היא מלעתים מוסיפים מקומיים מקומיים

של יחידים מחברם שלא מזבו ולא במרמים למבחבה ומבו עבם לחמקיך זה.

אמה המחרום של PUK II PUDAK בסיורו בשקוד הצטוגי של

המחברת באזור הבדבל עם יחומיה היא לבדוק תוכעה זו ולחכלה.

ב כ ר [illegible] ,

י. בירן

חומר גלוי

משרד החוץ

מחלקת החקר

שם העתון: רוז אליוסף, שבועון, קביר

תאריך: 19.4.65

אסמכתא ג/ 196

הנדון: בדרום סודאן

בדרום סודאן הוקם כוח חדש בשם "המוניות המבוטלות", [illegible]
זו קבוצה [illegible] למעולה [illegible] [illegible]
הסמליות של הסודאן [illegible] לכל [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] זו אינה קשורה לכל נדף מסלבתי וזכות הפטרסות שליה
[illegible] [illegible] וצמדניים, לכן היא מתנגדת לעריכת הבחירות בצפון
בלבד, כי זוהי מכרה, ליא יודעין, בסגול.

דפ/מסי

תאריך ההפצה: 23.4.65

תפוצה: אבריאל, מא"ן, מנ"ת, [illegible], קמסלה, ליאו.

ה- 5000 (4.64)

משרד החוץ

ירושלים, ר' באלול תשכ"ה
1 בספטמבר 1965

אל : שגרירות ישראל אדיס
שגרירות ישראל קטמלה
שגרירות ישראל ניירובי
שגרירות ישראל ליאופולדויל
שגרירות ישראל אקרה
שגרי ות ישראל בנגי

מאת : מחלקת המזרח

1) העתון הירדני "אלבנצר" החל ב- 29.8.65 לפרסם סדרת מאמרים על בעיית דרום סודאן מאת כתבו מאבר אלנאבלסי.

לדבריו, נודע על תכנית אתיופית- אוגנדית - קניאטית - קונגולזית - גאנית הזואפת ליצירת חזית מדינית מתבלטת את התנועה הערבית אסלאמית בסודאן ובאפריקה באופן כללי.

2) אנו מעוניינים בפרטים מקסימליים על מטרת מדיניותיכם בלפי בעית דרום - סודאן , על התכניות להקמת מדינה מורדים סודאנית בגולה וכסיוע של מעילות מצרית בסודאן.

היחסים בין סודאן ומצרים התהדקו בזמן האחרון. בספטמבר ס.ז. ובקרו במצריים ר"מ סודאן (לאחר הסמנה הערבית) ומשלחת בלבלית בראשות שר המסחר והתעשיה.

ראש ממשלת סודאן מנהל מגעים הדוקים ומתמידים עם השגריר המצרי.

מצד שני מאי וח ההתפטרות המצריות יפלו על קרקע פורייה בספר חוגים בסודאן. "האגוד הסוציאליסטי-דמוקרטי" הכולל את הממלכה הקומוניסטית, מפלגה עם הזמקרטית המרן-מצרית אלה אנדי המפלגים המקלאים והפועלים. עם - [illegible]

אבוד זה מבה בדרישה לממשלה לבחק את היחסים עם מעצמות המערב ולשנות למצריים בבקשה לסיוע.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

דוד מוסרנק

דפ/רא

צסרד רחוץ

[illegible]

[illegible]

אל: [illegible]

סא. [illegible]

[illegible]

1. השיחה בסטייל ו' [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

2. [illegible]
[illegible]

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3. [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

4. [illegible]
[illegible]

5. מנחיגי סאנו [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

6. [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

175.1 פלס

שרות התיל

מברק צפון יוצא אל_

מספר					
	אל				
	מאת				

1. רבידת תרסים בעניני דרום סודאן בכללה גם בגלל אי רצון הממשלות הצפוניות להתקרב לעמדות הדרומיים לגופו של ענין ובגלל מיקולי בחירות. ברעידה בלמד חילוקי דעות והיכוכים אישיים בהנהגת SAVU מצלא הוסמרה המתיחות בין ב"ז; ; רקוומבי. בעדן מתן למשמה בהמדה ואמא וצורך בקובמדציה. מצי. יט.כי מתיבנבו מל | ביג ההליכה מעמדו בהגרמה.

2. הגרסה ו- V.U.P מרעלת לקיום הבחירות ב-21 באפריל מתוך הנחת כי אין לקומוניסטים ואתדיהים ובגדמים כרמאבדיים סכוי לתגיע להשיבים בבחירות ולמנמה זאת המסך המצב הקיים מוכל למובנם

משרד החוץ

ירושלים, ו"ם א' שבט"ה

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] הרבה ב[illegible] יבך והדרום
[illegible] ר, בציבי [illegible] מערכת
בקשי בעלמה לדעת אלו אלגים
[illegible] ירה [illegible]

[illegible]

חומר גלוי

משרד החוץ

מחלקת המזרח

שם העתון: אל-נהאר, לבנון

תאריך: 6.3.65

אסמכתא ג/ 132

הנדון:

אנשי הדרוזים בסודאן תבעו מארצם
תמרור מהליגה הערבית

הסקורות הבבוריות בבירות יבלו אינפורמציה מסוימת מבה נאסר, כי הפעולות כדרוזים סודאן עוררו בעיה בעלת חשיבות רבה ביותר בנסגרת המגעים המתקיימים עתה ביניהן לבין מפלגות הצפון. לפי אינפורמציה זו תבעו הדרוזיים כתנאי-יסוד להסכמתם לקבל אזרחות כמסגרת "מדינה סודאנית" - סודאן תפרוש מהליגה הערבית. באינפורמציה זו נאמר עוד, כי הדרוזיים הקיצוניים מועבים, כי הואיל ואנשי הצפון הבירו בהבדלי הגזע בין תושבי שני חלקיה של סודאן ובן תכירו בעובדת מהדרוזים הוא "לא ערבי" - לכן יש הכרח לעיין מחדש במצבה של "המדינה הסודאנית" בליגה הערבית, ובכל המוסדות הערביים האחרים הכפופים לה.

אר/מסי

תאריך ההפצה: 11.3.65

תפוצה: לכת ה"ה, לשכת הסגב"ל, ד"ר י. הרצוג, מא"ח, ב"ג אדיר, קספלה, בגב', ניירובי, דאר אס-סלאם.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

מטה החוץ

ירושלים, ח' בטבת תשכ"ה
11 ינואר 1965

מספר

אל: השגרירות, אדיס אבבה
" קמפלה

מאת: מא"ף

הנדון: רוח סודן

בהמשך למברקנו הנדון.

להלן דיווחו של שגרירנו בקניה:

1. שוחחתי עם רפאל טוס, יחד עם הכריאות והמכון, בידוע תוסך טוס בהגיעות SAKU ושם אף חצא בהכרזה רשמית בשנין. אחיו שהוא חבר הפרלמנט באוגנדה, מסם בקנין קשר בין נציגי SAKU וסטלום אפריקניות. וזהו מסדרו: בשעת הגיגות הרפובליקה של קניה, הוא המתוך בשיחות שהתקיימו בגיירובי בין נציגי SAKU ושני שרים בממשלת סודאן בואו לגיירובי בנציגי סודאן להגיגות. אחרי שחודשיים הגיגו את בעיותיהם ועסדו על מילוג סודאן לפתי סריגות לצמן רוח, הגיע טוס מדרגיה או קונסדרציה. לפי ובריו, לא שללו חברי הממשלה את האפשרות להקים מדרגיה, אך נסדו על כך שבגיגי SAKU יחזרו לסודאן לשם ניתול מו"מ.

2. לפני בסיעתו של שר המשים מקניבי הידע ארצה סוי למרשום ליצב את קניב בירום הצמאות של סודאן בשבוע שעבר, קיים אמר טוס עורה של התיעצויות וסוי הכשיר להביע לשני רוה"מ סודאן את דעם הקשל בקניה ובאוגנדה, המודאגת מן המצב בדרום סודאן. כאשר חזר לגיירובי, מסר סוי שכלי רוה"מ סודאן, הגיע את הרוך קניאטה כמו"מ בין שני הצדדים ואף הגיע נכונותו לבוא לשם כך לגיירובי.

3. סוי ידרוש לקניאטה, וטוס יראה את רוה"מ לאחר מכן.

4. טוס בושה ומשנו שקניאטה יתנגד לדרישות המורים לשילוג המדינה, אך יהיה מוכן לשייעץ להם בתביעותיהם המוצדקות. עד כאן.

לידיעתכם.

ב ב ר ב ה

יואב בירנ

115

131

משרד החוץ

ירושלים, ח' שבט תשכ"ה
יום רביעי 1.2.65

אל: / השגרירות, אביב
" קפריר

מאת: מא"ף

הנדון: דרום סודן

... רצ"ב לידיעתכם קטע של נאום קניאני בו מובאים
דברים של המזכיר לענייני חוץ ולעניינים אפריקאים
של תנזניה ...

ב ב ר כ ה

יואב בירן

E.A. STANDARD - 6.1.65

SUDAN PROBLEM CAN KILL O.A.U. SAYS SOUTHERN LEADER

THE problem of the Sudan was one of the major problems that could kill the Organisation for African Unity because it was an Afro-Arab conflict, the External and African Affairs Secretary of the Sudan African National Union (Sanu), Mr Alphonse Malek Pajok, said in Nairobi [illegible] day.

"The problem of the Sudan is, if not worse, equal to that of South Africa," Mr. Pajok said. [illegible] is a racial issue and anybody thinking that it is a political issue does not have the true facts."

In South Africa there was the problem of apartheid which separated Whites from Africans. But at the same time Africans, after being driven to poor locations were allow[illegible] to develop in their own ways and according to their own culture.

"In the Sudan Africans are allowed to mix with the A[illegible] so that they do inferior and manual jo[illegible] Mr Pajok said. "Africans in Sudan are not allowed to develop their own African dignity and culture."

He called on Mr El Khalim El Khalifa's caretaker Government to split the country into two States, the Southern and the Northern, which would have separate flags for any idea of unitin[illegible] the Sudan was impossib[illegible]

The Sud[illegible] was not a single nation because [illegible] the racial cultural, linguistic and religious differences [illegible]tween the North and the South.

Mr Pajok said he was surprised that some people supported the repressive minority Arab Government in a country which had Africans as the majority people while the Government was a member of the Arab League.

Sanu has offered the Arabs [illegible] relations [illegible] neutral coun[illegible] outside Sudan in [illegible] hope [illegible] the relationship between Africans and Arabs was not completely exhausted.

[illegible] of national unity and [illegible] or had been abused by the Arab Government.

Sanu has now been forced as a last ditch move to take two steps. These were the strengthening of Anyat (Sanu's army) and asking the two [illegible] Sudanese ministers in the caretaker Government to resign.

"Sanu must use all means to send out Arabs from the Southern Sudan," Mr Pajok said. "Negotiati[illegible] have failed. The next step is force."

The problem of Sudan involves all other neighbouring African States and must be solved by Africans themselves.

Mr. Moi's speech in Khartoum

A further account [illegible] the [illegible]ch made by Kenya's Minister for Home Affairs Mr Moi, at the independency celebrations in Khartoum (as reported yesterday) show[illegible] that he expressed happiness because the Sudanese [illegible] now had a transitional Government "after having overthrown a military Government which had caused stagnation for six years."

He called on the Northern [illegible] Southern Sudanese to se[illegible] their differences, support [illegible] Government to buil[illegible] country together.

שרות מחיל

סבדק נכנס מ_____

אל:					הנשר
מאת					יבמ

עמוד 1

(13—63)

ALPHONSE MALEK MUORATENY PAJOK
PRESIDENT U S EIK SANU BRANCH

P O BOX [illegible]
ADDIS ABABA

TEL [illegible]

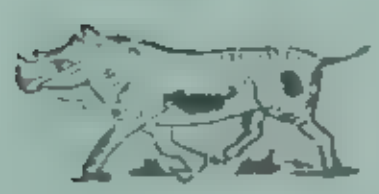
voice of southern sudan

Published by Sudan African National Union Vol. 1 No. 3 1963

negritude and progress

voice of southern sudan

ublished by Sudan African National Union Vol. 1 No. 3 1963



negritude and progress

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Kamal El Jak, Vice-Principal, Khartoum Technical Institute, runs away with murder.

The sensational trial of Vice-Principal of K.T.I. is over and has been sentenced to eight years imprisonment for shooting and killing Bol Ajang, a Southern Sudanese, in February 1963. The shooting incident took place one late evening, when Kamal El Jak, armed with a gun, was driving with car headlights not switched on. He ran suddenly into a group of Southerners strolling along the street. They got fri_htened and shouted to the passing driver to switch on the lights. Mr. Kamal stopped his car, got out, took his gun which was already loaded and walked to the strollers indignant and threatening. The group stopped and Kamal holding his gun questioned them for their impudence in shouting at him to switch on the headlights of his car. Threatening to shoot, on of the Southerners defied him to shoot saying that they were not afraid. While the deceased tried to move sideways Kamal shot him fatally in his thigh breaking it. Then he ran leaving his car. The other Southerners stood shocked and stunned. They did not attack Kamal or his car.

The incident was reported to the police. After obstructionism Kamal was arrested for interrogation. But the following day, Kamal was back at his desk in K.T.I. after having been assured by the investigating Magistrate that the whole affair was a matter of eight days and the whole fuss would be over.

What surprised even Northerners was the fact that the rest of the Southerners who accompanied the deceased were arrested and detained while the wrong doer was free. The investigating Magistrate, despite the obvious facts that constitute premeditated murder, charged Kamal El Jak only of inflicting grevious bodily injuries.

We hold that such an act was a farce and travesty of Justice and is characteristic of how the judicial machinery works in the Sudan and with respect to the Southern Sudanese. It was not surprising that the Magistrate was influenced by the North-South tension and readily listened to false charges that Southern Sudanese have moved into the North with deliberate plans to plunder and murder. Whatever motivated the biased action of the Magistrate in question, his act is indefensible in law and moral order. In such a case it is a general rule of procedure that the investigating Magistrate if not sure of the nature or type of charge he should put down the accused for the maximum charge. In the case in question of culpable homicide amounting to murder, we are bound to conclude that either the Magistrate was ignorant of the Law,

in which case he does not deserve the important office he holds, or he was biased, and deliberately diverted the cause of Justice, in which case he ought to be dismissed forthwith. As stated above, the findings of the investigating Magistrate were rejected by the higher judicial authority. Kamal El Jak was subsequently charged with murder but to our great surprise, he ran away with it, the "eight days" being changed to eight years. The chief Justice has, as has been expected exercised his discretion in favour of Kamal and reduced the sentence for eight to five years. Furthermore, it was stipulated that if Kamal pays L.S. 500.-- (pounds Sudanese) as compensation to the family of the deceased his sentence would next be reduced to eighteen months, which practically means that he will be immediately for good conduct. This is how ingenious Sudan judicial machinery works to conform with political realities of the day. It is worth noticing that had Bol Ajang not been killed in the capital (Khartoum), his case like that of many other people in the South, would have been dismissed without intervention of the higher judicial authority. It is probable that it would have been treated as security case and nullify the criminal proceedings against the Northern killer. This shows clearly that Justice does not exist for Southern Sudanese in Sudan courts.

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" THE PROBLEM OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN ": Origin of Sudan Government violent attack on Great Britain and the Institute of Race Relations.
by Leo Kurr

The booklet "The Problem of the Southern Sudan" by J. Oduho and William Deng, published by the Institute of Race Relations, has been the source of an outrageous and sentimental attack on Great Britain and the Institute by the Sudan Government.

The two co-authors who are now political refugees and incidentally President and Secretary-General respectively of SANU(the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement) have been attacked in conjunction with the Institute and Great Britain. On the day following the publication of the booklet in London, the Sudan newspapers in Khartoum, published a fierce attack against the booklet, the two authors and Dr. Richard Gray, a former Lecturer of History at the University of Khartoum, who wrote the introduction to this booklet.

Mr. Oduho and Mr. Deng are currently called "traitors, mercenaries of imperialism, manufacturers of lies, agents whose conscience is dead and their tongue addicted to fabrication of lies etc." Of Dr. Gray, the correspondent of El Thawra, Mr. Kamal Hassan Mahmud, says, "the veil has fallen from the ugly, sick and bad-smelling face which moves the two agents from behind the curtains." The booklet itself is described as "a new attempt by British imperialism to come back to the Sudan." Apparently, against Britain, are directed the sharpest arrows of the government newspaper, Al Thawra, June 19th, 1963. "The British imperialism which is today divided in itself by internal scandals, like the Profumo scandal, have started launching a campaign against us, they have intoxicated their sick souls with dreams of return to our country ....." The economic and social development in our country, says a Sudanese journalist, "is increasing day by day, while Britain is becoming little by little a second rate and even a third rate nation.... she is be hurled among the backward countries."

It is needless to say that the booklet is banned in the Sudan. A friend who ordered a few copies from London, saw them confiscated at Khartoum Post Office by the government.

In the Introduction, it is clearly stated that both the Northerners and the refugees(Southerners) were invited by the publishers to give their veiws on the case. But the Northerners refused to say anything until they had seen first what the Southerners had to say.

Southerners have given, firstly, their account of the British policy in the Sudan, without sparing Britain her part of the blame for her policy in the South during the first half of the century(1898-1953). Then comes a brief description of the policy of the Northern Arab

Sudanese towards their "so-called brothers" the Southern Sudan Africans of Negro race and blood." The authors quoting from official documents, both public and secret, show that the aim of the North is to dominate and maintain the South as a source of cheap labour. Such quotations as for instance: The text of the telegram of the Sudanese Prime Minister which caused much distress in the South, and which runs as follows, "To all my administrators in the Southern Provinces, I have just signed a document for self-determination. Do not listen to the childish complaints of the Southerners, persecute them, oppress them, ill-treat them according to my orders," (The Problem of the Southern Sudan, p.29). Although the authenticity of the telegram is now questioned by the Northerners, the authors point out that the government, who knew it was disturbing the public opinion in the South before the revolt, did nothing to reject it.

2) A Southern candidate to Sudan Parliament was disqualified in two consecutive elections by administrators(Arabs) of his constituency, on the ground that he was under age(30 years) as specified by the electoral laws. In 1953, his assessed age was 28 and was therefore ineligable for elections. In 1958, the very same reason was adduced to disqualify him.

3) Arab traders in the South used to say to any Southerners, "after a little while you will be under our feet."(ibid p.23).

4) In Equatoria Province alone, at least 10,000 huts with all belongings have been burnt by Arab administration and and army force. In Yei District in 1957, 700 huts were burnt in a single morning in a joint operation by Arab police and soldiers.(ibid p.41). The fact was admitted by the Government as an order issued by the Ministry of Defence as an examplary punishment to the people of the area where some escapees were supposed to have received shelter.

5) The University of Khartoum had, in 1960, 1216 students of whom only 60 were from the South... The Khartoum Technical Institute has 1,000 students of whom only 30 are from the South(the population of the South is officially estimated as one-third that of the whole country).(ibid p

We know that Britain is basically responsible for the merger of the regions geographically, politically, culturally and economically different. But the fact that the South is today a police State; that Southerners are deprived of all school and legal privileges enjoyed by Northerners; that the South is being religiously persecuted; that she is being economically and intellectually held down, for all that, can this 7 year old Republic of the Sudan throw the blame on other nations for the discontent of Southerners and for the assertion of their rights? Instead, the Sudan Arab government resolves to passionate and violent attack on Britain and the Institute of Race Relations without objectively and systematically refuting the charges as laid out in "The Problem of the Soutnern Sudan."

Leo Kurr, Nairobi, Kenya.

The Uganda People Congress fou
"Uganda Nation" of 26/6/63, whic

"It has come to our knowle
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continental revolt against
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concept, but an assertion

The letter continues:

"For ages Arabs offered
slave trade in Africa. "
in Kampala to inform his
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of the Southern Sudan and thei

NYA MINISTER BACKS MOVE FOR

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"the early bloomer" . We bel
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"But the liberation movement
as a result of the pro-Moslem
Khartoum appears to be becomi
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is in East Africa, where the

TWO MILITARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

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r. Nairobi, Kenya.

NEWS - [illegible]

[illegible] THE SUDAN'S SELF-DETERMINATION [illegible] SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[illegible] Kenya People Congress Youth Wing, published a letter in the [illegible] Nation" of 26/5/63, which read in part:

"It has come to our knowledge that the Southern Sudanese struggle for self-determination is part and parcel of the spontaneous continental revolt against Arab oppression founded on the philosophy of African nationalism. This philosophy is not a racial concept, but an assertion of human [illegible]...."

The letter continues:

"For [illegible] Arabs offered every ingenious attempt to justify their slave trade in Africa, we wish to tell and warn the [illegible] Ambassador in Angola to inform his government to discontinue [illegible] and [illegible] treatment immediately...."

[illegible] statement [illegible] understanding of the problem of the Southern Sudan and their changing attitude in favour [illegible].

[illegible] KENYA [illegible]

On the 11th June 1963, Mr. Daniel Moi, Kenya Undersecretary for Internal Affairs, issued a statement backing the Southern Sudan's call for self-determination. Although the Prime Minister of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, [illegible] over the knuckles, some Kenya papers [illegible] him as "[illegible] Bloomer". We believe that Mr. Moi's statement has important bearing on the Kenya attitude towards the Southern Sudan question. In the same connection, the "Sporter", of June 2nd, declares: "[illegible] liberation movement which has sprung up in the Southern Sudan as a result of the persecution, provoked partly [illegible] Kenyan appears to be becoming more vocal and whether the East African [illegible] give their consent or not the [illegible] of the movement [illegible] East Africa, where the Sudan African National Union has its offices."

[illegible] SOUTH SUDANESE BOYS [illegible] DEAD.

In the beginning of June, two boys from Ikoko Primary [illegible], Tri[illegible] District, were reported missing. They were later found dead, stabbed with bayonets. The villagers discovered that they were murdered by the Northern night patrol troops. No investigation has been yet carried out.

ARMY [illegible] AT [illegible]

On June [illegible], the [illegible] in [illegible] province, [illegible] Kraain, [illegible] their [illegible] soldiers allege that [illegible] military inspection of his [illegible]. [illegible] the camp. The platoon went out [illegible] the villagers of Yire. [illegible] the villagers began to run away while the army fired at them. [illegible] unable to escape with his fugitive black villagers. [illegible] was then taken for treatment, but his chances of survival are slim. During the same incident, the Army confiscated property [illegible] the [illegible] of Yire.

[illegible]

On June 20th 1965, the [illegible] Officer in Juba sent an urgent letter to the Inspector [illegible], and to all Executive Officers in [illegible]. In the letter [illegible] writing for the [illegible], [illegible] a list of [illegible] names, almost all Christians. The letter [illegible] as follows:

1) Attached herewith [illegible] converted to Islam and Yambio [illegible]

2) Will you please [illegible] to their schools chargeable against [illegible] Officers, Khartoum.

3) The law of operation of the [illegible] will be [illegible].

Copies to all head masters, [illegible] will be school inspectors; Director, [illegible] Affairs, Khartoum; [illegible] Undersecretary, [illegible]. Juba.

(Letter [illegible] the line)

Finally the memorandum [illegible] that the boys had demanded to enter the Normal Schools was [illegible] by General El Din.

Notice, the essence and [illegible] called Intermediates, is to prepare the boys who are to be the future teachers in Kraain and are meant for those who are Muslim. They are built, administered and maintained by the Department of Religious Affairs. But, as one reads above the list one notices such name as Ngulitino, Sai, Barrata etc. Hence, these are the people being forced to embrace Islam and become teachers of women. No wonder, this is the date of [illegible]. The true reason behind the move is to make Islam become the [illegible] education, i.e. those boys will be faced with one alternative: [illegible] Kraain education or to accept education and become [illegible].

It is obvious that [illegible] as well as the [illegible] effect [illegible] concerned forc[illegible].

[illegible] SCHOOL CERTIFICATE RE[illegible]

as published by "Al Thawra" [illegible]

No	Name of School
1	Wadi Seidna
2	Hantub
-	Khor Taggat
4	Port Sudan
-	Atafad(Boys'
-	Ahlia Omdurman
-	Congress Omdurman
-	Khartoum(Boys)
-	Comboni College Khartou[illegible]
1[illegible]	Atbara
1[illegible]	Comboni Atbara
1[illegible]	Medani(Boys)
1[illegible]	El Fasher
1[illegible]	Juba Commercial
1[illegible]	Sumbek
[illegible]	Khartoum Commercial
[illegible]	Technical
1[illegible]	Omdurman(Girls)
1[illegible]	Sabri (Girls)
[illegible]	Khartoum (Girls)
[illegible]	American Mission
[illegible]	Unity High School(Gir[illegible]
[illegible]	Ahfad (Girls)
[illegible]	[illegible] (evening class[illegible]
[illegible]	Sait El Amana
[illegible]	Private Candidates

[illegible]ment

It is worth mentioni[illegible] [illegible]ols for the three Nor[illegible] a population of about fou[illegible]

Due to the last [illegible] of the Intermediate and [illegible] considered it inappropri[illegible] tyranny and vindictive p[illegible] [illegible]nuek, for instance, [illegible]examination. Under norm[illegible] least 60 students in the [illegible]examination under unusual [illegible] extremely encouraging. [illegible] were unsuccessful.

[illegible] CERTIFICATE RESULTS (SECONDARY SCHOOLS)

[illegible] published by "Al Ahram" 27th June [illegible].

No	Name of School	Division 1	Div. 2	Div. 3	Total
[illegible]	[illegible] Seidna	35	61	49	145
	[illegible]	38	50	63	151
	[illegible] Taqat	28	57	45	135
[illegible]	Port Sudan	23	43	51	117
[illegible]	[illegible] boys	4	17	41	62
[illegible]	[illegible] Omdurman	16	29	40	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] Omdurman	14	21	18	52
[illegible]	[illegible] Khartoum (boys	11	17	24	52
[illegible]	[illegible] College Khartoum	2	6	15	23
[illegible]	[illegible]	13	21	17	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] Atbara	1	3	4	8
[illegible]	[illegible] boys)	14	25	20	59
[illegible]	[illegible] Kassala	13	28	11	52
[illegible]	[illegible] Commercial	5	6	6	17
[illegible]	[illegible]	13	9	18	42
[illegible]	[illegible] Commercial	2	19	19	40
[illegible]	[illegible]	-	2	5	7
[illegible]	[illegible] Girls)	2	10	31	43
[illegible]	[illegible] Girls)	-	1	2	3
[illegible]	[illegible] Girls)	4	15	26	45
[illegible]	[illegible] Division	-	-	-	-
[illegible]	[illegible] School (Girls)	1	1	5	9
[illegible]	[illegible] Girls)	1	2	7	10
[illegible]	[illegible] evening class)	-	5	22	29
[illegible]	[illegible]	-	4	6	10
[illegible]	[illegible] candidates	3	37	90	130

[illegible]

[illegible] worth mentioning that No's 14 and 15 are the only Secondary [illegible] in the three Southern Provinces providing higher learning for [illegible] about four million.

[illegible] the last October collective strike in Southern Schools, many [illegible] Intermediate and Secondary students were dismissed while others [illegible] inappropriate to return to their respective schools where [illegible] punitive punishments rendered study conditions irrelevant. [illegible], for instance, only 37 students sat for the Sudan Certificate [illegible]. Under normal conditions, Rumbek Secondary should have at [illegible] students in the final year. Although the students did their [illegible] under unusual circumstances, the results are by and large, [illegible] encouraging. With 15 students from Rumbek, only five of them were unsuccessful.

Distribution of New Secondary Schools.

In its issue of 23.6.63, "Al Thawra" writes: Our correspondent reports the new Secondary Schools have been distributed as follows:-

a) Dongola	Two Schools
b) El Obeid	" "
c) Khartoum North	" "
d) Rufa's	" "
e) Singa	One School
f) Kassala	" "
g) El Gedaref	" "
h) Berber	" "

Streams to be added to present Secondary Schools.

Boys Schools

a) One stream to Wedani to become five streams.
b) " " " Khartoum to become five streams.
c) " " " Khartoum Commercial to become four streams.
d) " " " El Fasher to become three streams.

Girls Schools

a) Kosti	Two Schools(new)
b) Omdurman	One Stream
c) Khartoum	One Stream

Comment

In regard to new schools, it is interesting to note that the Ministry of Education has deliberately ignored the Southern Sudan. Obviously, this policy of discrimination shows to what extent the Sudan Government is determined to keep down the South intellectually and to ignore her in education programmes.

Two years ago a school known as Malakal Secondary School and alleged to be for the South, was surprisingly opened in one of the Northern towns. From very reliable sources - close to the government, we understand that more than 95% of the student are Northerners. Well, with such a large percentage of Northerners, would it be right or logical to call such a school a Southern school? God forbid! Here, as above, the government is being courageous by depriving the South of any new proposed schools.

In a subsequent issue, we shall discuss the whole educational pattern in the Southern Sudan in comparison to what is being done in the North.

[illegible]

In [illegible] issue of 28.6.63, [illegible] states that a sum of [illegible] upgrading religious [illegible] to the same newspaper, the gov[illegible] determined to spend every penny [illegible] aid for the spread of Islam and [illegible]

The report from [illegible] shed in the government newspap[illegible] utions in the Sudan. [illegible] Islamic University" Al Thawra [illegible]

"Sayed Dr Kamil [illegible] Affairs, has told us that [illegible] given his consent for the upgr[illegible] standard of a college and the[illegible] must start immediately.

Comment

(It [illegible] worth mentioning [illegible] Affairs as early [illegible] Islamic culture) [illegible] hugh sums of money to [illegible] the same for Christian [illegible] shows the government [illegible] and is a flagrant breach [illegible] publicly endorsed.

MARIO MODI DEAD

The South is bereaved [illegible] distinguished high ranking [illegible] Mr. Modi died on August [illegible] a course in the English lang[illegible] Mr. Modi was a holder of a [illegible] the Sudan Ministry [illegible] He was transfered to [illegible] the time he left for the [illegible] English Department at the [illegible] arable loss to the Sudan.

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In the issue of [illegible], one of the Khartoum dailies [illegible] that a sum of [illegible] -- has been allotted by the government for [illegible] religious schools, and for the building of new ones. According [illegible] the same newspaper, the government of the Republic of the Sudan, is determined to spend every penny, including American, British and German aid for the spread of Islam and of Arabic language throughout the country.

The report from Cairo has also confirmed a statement previously published in the government newspaper "Al Ghawre", concerning Islamic institutions in the Sudan. [illegible] under the title " Omdurman Islamic University" Al Ghawre reports as follows:-

"Sayed Ibrahim El Sagir, Director of the Department of Religious Affairs, has told us that the Minister of Education and Instructions has given his consent for the upgrading of Omdurman Muahed Al Ilmi to the status of a college and then to that of a university, and that the work will start immediately.

[illegible]

It is worth mentioning that the Sudan created the Department of Religious Affairs as early as [illegible] to facilitate the spread of Islam and Arab culture. If [illegible] is a department, the government should allot [illegible] sums of money to subsidise the spread of Islam, why does she not do [illegible] to [illegible] schools [illegible] Southern Sudan [illegible] Christian population [illegible] Islam, [illegible] that the Sudan has [illegible] enormous

[illegible]

[illegible] is believed by the [illegible], one of the [illegible] influential members in the Sudanese Administration [illegible] Islam, or specifically, Arabs, [illegible] of financial [illegible] Mohamed [illegible] from Cairo University, [illegible] [illegible] the Sudan [illegible] the work [illegible] the death of Adi is an irreparable loss to the Sudan, the [illegible] in particular.

REPORT FROM SANJ [illegible] CENTRAL OFFICE

The state of affairs in the Southern Sudan has been steadily deteriorating since our last report.

MURDER OF GISMALLA MOHAMMED

In Kapoeta (Eastern District) a Southern Sudanese Moslem policeman named, Gismalla Mohammed, was shot dead by his officer, Babikir El Khid[illegible] the story is that Gismalla, returning from trek, found his officer playi[illegible] "daddy and mummy" with his wife. He was naturally annoyed and ordered [illegible] officer to quit his house, the officer thereupon drew his revolver and s[illegible] him dead. He then ordered his bodyguard to place a rifle by the side of the dead man to make it appear that he had committed suicide, this order was accordingly carried out. When Mr. Barnaba Toroyo Kisamga, Inspector of Local Government, Kapoeta(D.C.), wanted to investigate the case he was threatened. The next day, he was called to Juba where he was further threatened and told to keep his mouth shut. He was subsequently promoted and transfered to the North. The wife of the deceased was taken to her village, bribed and told to keep quite.

THE DEATH OF ISAIAH OBOKO

Isaiah Oboko was murdered in Shendi, a town 112 mile North of Khartoum. He was a soldier serving in the Northern Command. He was a Southerner from Nimule. Mr. Isaiah was given leave and effectively set out for the South, on reaching Kosti, he was suddenly ordered to go back to his centre, for reasons that were not told to him, when he arrived in Shendi, he was arrested and tortured to death by Arab soldiers. No investigation was ordered.

MORE REFUGEES POUR OUT FROM SOUTHERN SUDAN

Mr. Onesimo Vuni, Public Health Officer, fled to the Congo. He was reported by government secret police as sympathizing with the "anti-government elements". He was secretly informed of the governments intentions and managed to escape before being arrested.

Mr. Vincenzo Basia, ex-paramount chief of Western District, Bahr el Ghazal, escaped into the Congo with a group of civilians from Wau.

More tragic still is the constant increase of student escapees from the South. Eleven Southern schoolboys and one civilian, all from Bahr el Ghazal, attempting to escape into the Congo, were arrested at Ezo when they, unknowingly, walked into Sudanese police border guards. They were put on a lorry and driven to Tembura prison. On the way, they tried to escape by running away, one boy "Joseph Kuol" was shot and one other boy rearrested, the condition of Joseph Kuol is still unknown.

[illegible]

[illegible] people [illegible]

[illegible] at random [illegible] the flag [illegible] in the case of a [illegible] rank of sergeant [illegible] he was arbitrarily dis[illegible] border where he opened [illegible] tobacco, beans and see[illegible] [illegible] he was arrested [illegible] from a [illegible] soldiers. He was [illegible] camp. His plantation [illegible] released when no conv[illegible] he had lost all [illegible]

The situation [illegible] occupation have plun[illegible] District where [illegible] is razed to the grou[illegible] object in the provin[illegible]

BAHR EL GHAZAL PROVI[illegible]

The situation [illegible] ively deteriorat[illegible] climax. This has [illegible] Republic and the [illegible] ordered mass arre[illegible] officials were arre[illegible]

Another group of students who safely reached the Congo on the July 1963, consists of the following:

- Francis Mayar Akoon, 2nd year Faculty of Law, Univ. of Khartoum,
- Anthony Col Akol, 1st year, Faculty of Science, Univ. of Khartoum,
- Peter Akol Riny, 1st year, Faculty of Economics, Univ of Khartoum,
- Mathew Atem Aduol, graduate Rumbek Secondary School,
- Arthur Akuien Col, " " "

In all the number of Southern Students has risen to 570 in Uganda, 150 in Congo, 14 in Tanganyika and more than 60 in Ethiopia.

EQUATORIA PROVINCE

The number of political prisoners under detention fluctuates as some are being released as others are being jailed. Yei and Torit have the largest number of political prisoners at any given time. An average of 90 people is the case in Yei, and in Juba the average is 50 people in Military prisons. Besides, many people are being beaten and maltreated at random. One flagrant violation of law and human dignity is illustrated by the case of Samuel Ayiga. Mr. Ayiga was a policeman and reached the rank of sergeant by 1955, he continued to work with the government until he was arbitrarily dismissed. He went and settled on the Congo-Sudan border where he opened a big coffee farm and several other crops like tobacco, beans and sesame. He also had a beautiful orchard, in December 1962, he was arrested by an Arab army officer acting on information received from a child of eight years that Mr. Ayiga was harbouring mutineers. He was tortured and whisked off to a military concentration camp. His plantation and orchard were burnt down. Mr. Ayiga was later released when no convincing evidence was brought against him. Nevertheless, he had lost all his property.

The situation in Kajo-Kaji still remains grave, the Arab army of occupation have plundered the cattle of the KuKu people. Everywhere in Yei District where a mutineer is supposed to be hiding the whole village is razed to the ground. In all, much army patrolling is in constant effect in the provinces of Bahr El Ghazal and Equatoria.

BAHR EL GHAZAL PROVINCE

The situation in Bahr El Ghazal like that in Equatoria, is progressively deteriorating. Arab terrorism and intimidation is reaching its climax. This has prompted many people to seek refuge in Central African Republic and the Congo. The Arab government took to fright in May and ordered mass arrests in Wau and Gogrial. In Gogrial, all local government officials were arrested, these include the Executive Officer Mr. Parmena

Kelei, Valentino Akol, head accountant, Mr. Toby Mawien, Richard Koc, Ferdinand Dhol, Matthew Kuei. In Wau, they arrested the Province Medical Assistant Mr Hassan Fartak, the chief of Bagari, Mr. Musa Luigi, and Mr. Gaetano Biringi who is being tortured under detention. After two months most of them were released on bail. According to government declaration, Gogrial officials are suspended awaiting trial. It is suspected that the government may send in staff from the North to take over from the Southern staff.

Freedom of movement from district to district within Bahr El Ghazal is highly restricted while the three Southern Provinces are literally littered with police stations.

UPPER NILE PROVINCE

The domestic rule of the Arab government is lashing more and more Southerners into rebellion. In Pibor, Eastern and Lou Nuar districts, marauding Arab armed gangs have commandeered considerable property. Similar incidents have taken place in the vacinity of Pachalla, Nasir Akobo. As a result of this, hundreds of Southerners had to seek refuge in Ethiopia. At present there are 3,685 refugees scattered throughout Ethiopia, this number includes students, civil servants, villagers and others.(see report on Addis Ababa Conference.).

J.H Oduho,
President,
SANU.

Mr. G.A. Kwanai, SANU Se
Conference - May 1963 -

The following is an
Conference as presented t
Information Secretary, on
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. A. Kwanai, SANU Secretary of Information reports on the Addis Ababa Conference - May 1963 - and on the refugees in Ethiopia.

The following is an abridged report on the Addis Ababa Summit Conference as presented to SANU Central Committee by Mr. J. A. Kwanai, Information Secretary, on his return from Addis Ababa. Mr Kwanai gives with it a brief description on Southern Sudan refugees in Ethiopia

I arrived in Nairobi, May 22nd, on my way to Addis Ababa to plead for the South before the African heads of state there assembled. Before taking off, I managed to have a short talk with the Ethiopian Ministerial General, without discarding the probability that the Conference might not welcome my plea officially - since the aim was to unite the African Continent - he sympathetically observed that our case deserved thoughtful attention by all African nations. This is well said, as I remarked, but is it not logical that the aim of African leaders meeting should be to fight jointly against colonialism in africa, against neo-colonialism and to find a basis for a healthy African unity and perpetual co-operation.

I also managed to talk to Mr. Oginga Odinga, KANU's Vice-President. He showed much concern especially on hearing that I was going to solicit support for the South. He told me that a Sudanese delegate to the Summit Conference had informed him that a Sudanese Luo brother of his was being detained by the Ethiopian authorities for fear that he might assassinate President Aboud.

On my arrival at Addis Ababa, I met my fellow delegate to the Conference, Mr. Alphonse Malek. He is a young man from Tonj district who has been imprisoned in the Ethiopian Empire for four years. Mr. Malek is the President of the Southern Sudan Liberation Supporters in Ethiopia. To my surprise, I found that Mr. Malek had already done tremendous effort in distributing copies of the SANU's protective petition to the U.N.O., personally all Black African States secretaries. Mr Malek then told me on two occasions, he had met and spoken to delegates and journalists from various Black African nations. On one particular occasion Mr. Malek met all Black African journalists assembled during a Ghanian party at Ghana hotel. Arab journalists including those from U.A.R. were absent. There was no explanation, but as later heard from the speaker, We are proud of our colour and we still have to make it more respected and recognised internationally" When Mr. Malek had introduced himself as a Southern Sudan political refugee, all the journalists emphatically pledged full support for our case, wishing their governments would do the same. This occasion was a prelude to all other contacts that Mr. Malek made to make later. In all, Mr. Malek was able to present our case to many African Foreign Ministers who substantially promised support for the South.

While at Addis Ababa Mr. Malek heard various rumours and reports which illustrated the position of Sayed Santino Deng, the only Southerner in the Council of Ministers. While these reports in no way originated from Sayed Santino himself, we believe that they are well founded. In particular, it is said that Sayed Santino opposed the proposal making the Christian Sunday into a normal working day in the Sudan. Sayed Santin opposed the proposal so much that President Abboud had to refrain from endorsing it. It was only after Hassan Bashir Nasser had sent a threaten letter to President Abboud that the latter summoned Sayed Santino and sought his consent for what he called "a matter of life or death" in case he did not sanction the decree. The proposal was then put for the majori vote which naturally ended in favour of Hassan Bashir. When Sayed Santin was out-voted he made this remark " If the proposal is carried out it wil definately bring a crisis", whereupon Hassan Bashir exclaimed "Supposing it brought on a crisis, would you be involved personally?" and Sayed Santino replied " Perhaps I would not be involved physically, but I would be mentally and morally" The other Northerners simply laughed and left the President to deal with the matter.

This attitude illustrates to what extent the government of Abboud has disappointed all Southerners even Sayed Santino Deng whom the Southerners regard as a yes man.

To conclude, although the case of the Southern Sudan was not officially discussed at the Addis Ababa Summit Conference, we believe that the enthusiasm with which it was received by many African delegates and their subsequent promise in support, shows that this case is not only a purely Sudanese concern but for all Africans in their concept of Africanism.

SITUATION OF THE REFUGEES IN ETHIOPIA

Like the Congo and Uganda, the number of Southern refugees escaping into Ethiopia, has constantly been increasing. Most of them are from Upper Nile Province, but there are also others from both Equatoria and Bahr El Ghazal Provinces. Notable among the refugees in Ethiopia are: Paul Anade, graduate, American Commercial High School; Simon Morris, Faculty of Arts, University of Khartoum; Joseph Otho and Ayiya Agoda, both from American Commercial High School; James Biliu and James Jok, Primary School teachers. Most of the entered Ethiopia during the first six months of 1963.

THE SOUTHERN [illegible]

The [illegible]

In the opening article of this [illegible] ular with the factors that opment of Northern and Sou Sudan since 1948 [illegible] in the report of the Counc of that year. We shall [illegible] the Northern Sudanese were ical situation prevailing Sudanese government: have

What we can see [illegible] have machine-guns and we enough and that the Arabs inquiry, that the problem ical. Today, the [illegible] instrument in [illegible] tianity, has unavoidably difficult to suppress a , and indeed a hard [illegible] maintained by perpetual Sudanese would prefer se a united Sudan if a feder conflict. They maintain for independence only af parliament on the 19th Sudan for federation and uent Assembly. The subs obstructionism of North

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THE SOUTHERN SUDAN TODAY: A TEST CASE IN AFRO-ARAB CO-OPERATION II

The Political Situation 1956-1963

In the opening article in this series, published in the first issue of this magazine; we dealt with the historical background and in particular with the factors that led to the abandonment of the separate development of Northern and Southern Sudan. The political situation in the Sudan since 1948 up to August 1955 and thereafter, is adequately covered in the Report of the Commision of Inquiry into the political disturbances of that year. We shall readily quote from that report, to show that if the Northern Sudanese were not in the Southern Sudan as rulers, the political situation prevailing today would have been avoided. The successive Sudanese governments have refused to learn from the tragic events of 1955.

What we can see is that they have decided that whatever happens they have machine-guns and we have not. We thought the blood bath of 1955 was enough and that the Arabs would heed to the findings of the Commision of Inquiry, that the problem of the Southern Sudan is not religious but political. Today, the Sudan government's policy of using Islam as a political instrument in bringing about its desired ends and the suppression of Christianity, has unavoidably added the religious factor. It is indeed very difficult to suppress a racial and religious group, territorially based , and indeed a hard job for those who see the unity of the Sudan to be maintained by perpetual subjugation. Since 1947, though the Southern Sudanese would prefer separate nationhood, they were prepared to remain a united Sudan if a federal solution was accepted for the North-South conflict. They maintained this position since self-government and voted for independence only after a resolution was unanimously passed by Sudan parliament on the 19th Dec 1955, which states that the demand of Southern Sudan for federation should be given "full consideration" by the Constituent Assembly. The subsequent events have proved the dishonesty and obstructionism of Northern Sudanese.

As Professor Wheare has rightly stated, "one of the most urgent problems in the world today is to preserve diversities..... and at the same time to introduce such a measure of uniformity as will prevent clashes and facilitate co-operation. Federalism is one way of reconciling these two ends,"(Federal Government 3rd edn p.15). The generous gesture of Southern Sudanese, calling for federal relationship was besned aside even when semblance of democratic institutions existed in 1957, by the National Constitutional Committee and subsequently by the Constituent Assembly whose proceedings were boycotted by Southern M.Ps. The army takeover put an end to a freely negotiated settlement, and the Southerners are left with no choice but to fight for freedom and to exercise their right to self-determination. The Southern spokesman, in a speech delivered

"Friends of Southern Sudan"
[illegible] Lambeth Road,
London, S.E.1.

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CORRECTIONS

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before the Constituent Assembly foresaw the dark future when he said "The South will at any moment separate from the North if and when the North so desires, directly or indirectly, through political, social and economic subjection of the South." This speech was delivered in 1958. The political, social and economic subjection of the South by the North is now beyond dispute. They rule today by sheer might of arms.

Since the revolt of August 1955, the policy of Sudan government in the South has been based on fear than reason. They fear the consequences of losing power and this seems to have led to paralysis in their thinking process and made them blind to experiences of other countries, in particular Algeria, that the use of force is temporary. If the French army, much better equiped could not prevent the F.L.N. from winning independence for Algeria we do not think the Sudan army can do better. This policy is marked by rigourous oppression of the African people and complete stagnati of economic development. All the Arab governments that have ruled so far down to the present military junta, have kept the same policy with respect to the Southern Sudan, based on six major targets:-

1) To keep the South in a united Sudan at all costs irrespective of means
2) Not to develop the South while their is still a certainty that it may break away.
3) To break the link between Southern Intelligensia with the Southern public, by keeping the former in the North and carefully watching those in the South.
4) Keeping Southerners out of defence and security forces as much as possible. Meanwhile no effort is spared in finding fault with those who had joined these forces before the outbreak of the 1955 revolt and immediately thinning them out.
5) Forcing the Southerners to relinquish all their habits and ways of life in preference for Arab culture and ways of life.
6) Keeping the South out of contact with the outside world.

All these policies are aimed at creating a subservient Southern people ready to bow to the wishes of the Arabs who have no interest in their well-being and progress. Though it is difficult to deal with various aspects of the problem separately, we shall confine ourselves here to the political oppression and shall deal with the political situation as reflected in many walks of life.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

(Detailed account on religious discrimination has been given in the 2nd issue of this magazine. We here refer to religion being used as a target to bring about political oppression in the Sudan today).

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as a retarding factor and a major threat to the unity of the Arab North
and African South. To prevent further propagation of Christian faith a
number of tactics have been devised by the Sudan government; notable
among the tactics are:

a) By taking over the Christian mission schools in the South; moving them from former sites - in case of elementary schools - to prevent current contact with the church and Christian influence in general, and finally to prevent missionaries from teaching religion in them.

b) By adopting a policy of constant fabrication of cases against missionaries and deporting them whether they are found guilty or not. One outstanding of such deportations for bogus reasons is that of a Catholic priest who entered an Islamic school to ask for a Christian boy, on the instruction of the boy's parents, in order to give Christian religious instructions. He was charged for and convicted of trespassing on a place of worship. This frivolous charge was contemptuously dismissed on appeal. Nevertheless, the priest in question was deported. Two other missionaries similarly acquitted by Wau court were expelled after acquittal.

c) By abolishing the Christian Sunday in the South and making Friday, the Islamic rest-day, the official religious resting day of the week.

d) Lastly but not least, this intolerance to Christian religious propagation has now been crowned by the ignogomous Missionary Society Act of

1962. In essence, the contents of the Act mean that the Arab authorities will from the time of the publication of the Act, make it impossible to propagate their religion in the Sudan, while the propagation of Islam is left not only unfettered but carried by the State with public money. The annual budget of the Department of Religious Affairs as given in the Sudan Almanach of 1962 has doubled since 1958. It was Ls. 173,222.-- in 1958/59 and Ls. 284,950.-- for 1960/61 and Ls. 328.165-- for 1961/62. This shows the importance the Sudan attaches to the use of Islam for its political purposes.

Under the new Act, for any person to teach Christian religion be he Sudanese or a foreigner, he has to obtain a licence from the Minister of Interior.(s.3). The licence if granted will specify the area and duration of his operations. It is valid up to one year and may be withdrawn or its renewal may be refused at the discretion of the Minister(s.5 & 6). The Act does not say cowardly enough that it aims at forestalling the further spread of Christianity, but whoever reads the Act will be left with no doubt as to its target. For obviously it could not be aimed at Islam the State religion, the propagation of which is not regulated by law let alone its control. Though large numbers of missionaries have been expelled since 1956, the implementation of this Act since November 1962 has resulted in the mass expulsion of 150 missionaries after a number of them have undergone detention and various terms of imprisonment. The consequences of the Act led to an uproar throughout the world and brought to light the heinous policies of the Sudan government. If the Sudan government had the courage to face world opinion, it would not hesitate to expel the missionaries in mass. However this action would not help to solve the problem.

OTHER FREEDOMS

Though the normal democratic freedoms are non-existent in the whole Sudan; in the Southern Sudan the populace is kept constantly scared by police and military treats. Most if not all, the prominent Southern intellectuals are marked by the members of terrorizing police service rivalling only the Nazi Gestapo in its treachery to humanity. Whatever these secret police say is accepted in court as self-evident and not subject to further investigation, except occasionally after an appeal to Khartoum which is hardly ever granted. In fact what Khartoum policy maker do is to grant their man on the spot full powers of action and interfere only when it becomes evident that the consequences of such action will arouse unnecessary outside concern. In 1957, the security authority in Western Equatoria burned 700 houses and huts without prior consultation with Khartoum. After many demonstrations in the South as well as Khartoum , the government decided to compensate the victims, but the criminals responsible for this barbarious plunder and arson were

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[illegible] Today, the burning of villages continues [illegible] inhabitants are suspected of being sympathetic with the [illegible] of harbouring them. The burning is usually [illegible] confiscation of livestock, property and mass arrest. The [illegible] mass exodus of Southern refugees into the Congo, Kenya, [illegible] and Central African Republic. The Southern Sudan is now a police state not different from Angola or [illegible] of the Sudan army is now centred in the South, [illegible] Air Force has been temporarily transfered [illegible]

Anybody who has been to Souther[illegible] incongruity between the Sudan [illegible] platform and their action, [illegible] and their amorility in deeds. Sudan [illegible] pledged their support for [illegible] while following the [illegible] Southern Sudan as [illegible] and South Africans. We know [illegible] attention of African [illegible] people of the Sudan. [illegible] is not essentialy [illegible] Sudan clearly depict [illegible] over the South, disregarding [illegible] once claimed in clear and concrete terms [illegible] has she succeeded in maintaining Algeria within the union? Similarly, the North, whether she likes it or not, shall see the South constitute a separate nation. Why have hundreds of students and villagers fled the Southern Sudan and chose to live the life of refugees, to live as destitutes and expose themselves to poverty and misery, if conditions were good for them at home? Today half of the Southern student body have left the country, at present there are about 600 of them living in refugee camps in the Congo, Uganda, Tanganyika and Ethiopia, are these children mad?

It is not possible to enumerate all instances of obvious discrimination against African of Southern Sudan even before courts of Justice, but we shall give the famous trial of Rumbek Secondary School students [illegible] and convicted for protesting against the abolition of Christian [illegible]. Following a decree of the military government in 1960, the [illegible] Rumbek Secondary School made a protest against the introduction [illegible] Sunday, which was hitherto a Christian resting day. [illegible] were arrested together with their father Paulino Dogale [illegible] priest and former M.P., the latter was charged with [illegible] protest, both were tried and sentenced to terms of imprisonment [illegible] 10 to 12 years.

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Joseph Mudrael [illegible] of imprisonment for very [illegible] relative to this case. He was suddenly released [illegible] Mudrael [illegible] of SANU

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in the whole of Sudan. He was then deported to the North. After Mr. Ukel's appeal directly to President Abboud, he was allowed to return to Wau, but he has been restricted to the town of Wau and cannot go to visit even his parents in their own country residence. So, the Sudan government has wide powers, whereby it can declare one a prohibited person even in one's own home. What pains every Southerner, is the utter blindness and stupidity, with regard to Southern problem, in refusing to benefit from the experience of other colonial and ex-colonial powers.

There is another point worth mentioning, some Northern Sudanese, including high officials in the administration refer to the Southern Intelligensia as half-educated. Education is a relative term and largely a matter of opinion. But experience has taught time and again, even nations with a very long history in colonial rule, that it always pays to gain the confidence of the Intelligensia, whether they are fully educated, half educated or quarter educated. The Northern administration in Southern Sudan is not colonial, but the great majority of Southerners regard it as such, and as long as that it so it is just as important to gain the confidence of this group as the peoples living in the bush, (Southern Sudan Disturbances 1955, p.7). This finding was available to Northern authorities in October 1956 and it seems they have not taken any notice of it. As a result, the South is experiencing a worst type of colonialism by a people materially corrupt and morally debased. Using the old tacit of "divide and rule" , Sudan government has been playing tribe against tribe, creating a wedge between the chiefs and the educated Southerners, but how long can they continue to play father against son.

As Mr. Patrick Keatley rightly observed in his book "The Politcics of Partnership", on the racial problem between Africans and Europeans in the Central African Federation, what matters in politics is the attitude of the ruling group; and since in the Sudan as in Rhodesia, one racial and cultural group holds military, political and economic power it is the attitude of this group which shapes the society. All the laws and institutions are only an outward manifestation of the attitude. As a matter of fact, despite the presence of about four million African peoples in the South, Sudan is today a full fledged member of the Arab league and generally writen of as a politically Arab country. What the Sudan government has been doing since independence has been to assimilate the African people into Arab culture by the use of Arabic language and forcible conversion to Islam with the consequent persecution of Christianity and Christians in the Southern Sudan. All these policies are aimed at destroying the African identity and cultural inheritage.

No person or group of people in the place of Southerners in the

present Sudan would willingly submit to the present relationship between the Arab North and the African South which is that of a rider and horse. We thought the dark history that characterized relationship between the South and the North, in which Southerners were victims of Arab slave trade and exploitation, would not be relieved in the modern Sudan. But, alas! the record of the last nine years of Northern administration has done nothing to remove this sordid and terrible memory but instead they have added more fuel through political slavery today. The present injustices only serve to inflame them.

In the Southern Sudan at the moment, the armed forces seem to be no longer sending their political victims to prison. People of prominence have just vanished; no one knows where they are. Notable among them are ex-Senator Luigi Ruweng; 2nd lieutenant Tafeng Ladongi and Livio Mogga, a school master. Mr Ruweng is suspected to have been killed by the Arab Secret Police. He was arrested in 1961 on false charges of having shot a person during a hunting party, after much torture in detention he was released and placed under house arrest, a few months later he was reported missing. Mr Ladongi, an outstanding figure during the 1955 army revolt, was arrested before the outbreak of the revolt and subsequently sentenced to seven years imprisonment, he was then released in June 1962, and like Mr Ruweng he was mysteriously reported missing, after the secret police failed to plant a charge on him. Mr Mogga had just returned from the U.K. after finishing a course in education, was a prospective primary school headmaster. The three men are of paramount importance and there is no wonder if the Arab security forces have killed them secretly, thus, they will no longer talk and there are no witnesses or blots. But, whether Mr Ruweng, Ladongi or Mogga are dead or not such dubious methods never solve any problem nor will they deter.

In conclusion to this general survey of the repressive political policies of various Arab governments in their bid to subjugate the African people, to destroy their ideas, their desire for freedom, for independence, their ideals and plans for building up a happy and prosperous nation within the framework of Negroid(Black) Africa, we have to remind General Abboud and his military junta that loyalty of the people cannot be demanded as a duty or by force of arms. It can only be claimed by a government that has deep roots in and endured only if it is embedded in the willing concern of its citizens.

115.1.20

James Sham,
Addis Ababa,
6th July, 1964.

H.E. The Ambassador,
C/o The Israel Embassy,
Addis Ababa.

Your Excellency,

I am writing this letter to ask you to help me financially because I am in very great difficulties.

I am a native of the Southern Sudan, and I came here as a refugee a week ago. Unfortunately, although I have tried my best to ask for help from different sources, I have failed completely. In fact, I have sold almost all my clothes in order to get money to buy my food.

I cannot go back to my country now because the Arabs will catch me, or kill me just like other people from the Southern Sudan are killed.

Now I want to go to Kenya to be with other refugees from the Southern Sudan. In Kenya I want to join school and to get higher education. I am sure that the Kenyan Government will allow me to join school and to get good education. As I have no means to reach Kenya, I, therefore, ask you, your excellency, to give me money to enable me to pay for my food, ~~[illegible]~~ and for my transport by buses or lorries to Kenya. Soon after getting this money I shall leave here for Kenya. Very urgent, please.

Awaiting your urgent sympathetic help.

Yours faithfully,
James Sham

115.1.תיק

משרד החוץ

ירושלים, יז' באייר תשכ"ד
29 באפריל 1964

סודי ביותר
לבעלן בלבד

ערב/982

אל: השגריר, תל-אביב

מאת: מנ' המקר

הנדון: אדירת סודאנית לתאופי אתיופיה
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מפקור סודי ביותר ומהימן נודע לנו כי הסודאנים האוירה לאתיופיה, בלי ידיעת ממשלת תל-אביב, יחידת תצפית שבלתה מספר בתי"ם שאוקמו ע"י המורדים הסודאנים באתיופיה. בתי"ם אלה הוקצו אח"כ ע"י חיל האויר הסודאני, גם זאת ללא נטילת רשות ממשלת אתיופיה, בעקבות העצה זו חזר שגריר אתיופיה בסודאן בסוף פרס לארצו להתייעצויות.

הסודאנים, המושרים כנראה באתיופיה בקשרים עם המורדים, מאשימים עם זאת כי אפשר יהיה לייחס את עניין הקצת הבתי"ם ע"י התבצלות לפני ממשלת אתיופיה.

אנא תוכלו להשכילנו לגבי תוצאותיו של מבצעך זה?

ב ב ר כ ה,

העתק: מנ"ף

ב. ז'ולטק

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